

Message Text

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SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 7, 1976
(SALT TWO-966)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF APRIL 7, 1976.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, APRIL 7, 1976

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS THE
DELEGATIONS HAVE GIVEN MUCH ATTENTION TO ARTICLE II,
PAR. 1--THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS--
AND TO RELATED PROVISIONS.

TO WORK OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS ON
THIS ISSUE WOULD HAVE APPROPRIATE SIGNIFICANCE IN TERMS
OF ENSURING THE EFFECTIVENESS AND VIABILITY OF THE NEW
AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED. IN THIS CONNECTION, AN
INDEPENSABLE REQUIREMENT FOR THE ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINI-
TION BEING WORKED OUT AND FOR THE RELATED PROVISIONS OF

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THE DRAFT, AS, OF COURSE, FOR ALL OTHER DEFINITIONS, TOO,

IS THAT THEY BE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE CONTENT AND LETTER OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, AND UNEQUIVOCALLY DEFINE THOSE SYSTEMS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT STRICTLY IN ACCORD WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

SUCH PRECISELY IS THE APPROACH CONSISTENTLY ADHERED TO BY THE SOVIET SIDE.

AT THE PRESENT TIME AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD, IT HAS BECOME EVIDENT THAT THE POSITIONS OF THE SIDES HAVE COME CLOSER TOGETHER BOTH ON ARTICLE II, PAR. 1, AND ON THE QUESTION OF THE OBLIGATION, TO BE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE IV OF THE JOINT DRAFT, NOT TO CONVERT MISSILE LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT ICBM LAUNCHERS INTO LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH BY THE U.S. DELEGATION ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ACCEPTING THE SOVIET APPROACH TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 1, AND THE RELATED PROVISION ON NON-CONVERSION FOR INCLUSION IN ARTICLE IV, THE USSR DELEGATION AT THE MARCH 23, 1976 MEETING STATED THAT IT WOULD BE PREPARED TO PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT, ICBM LAUNCHERS WOULD BE MISSILE LAUNCHERS SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING LAND-BASED ICBMS.

WITH A VIEW TO FURTHER EXPANDING THE SPHERE IN WHICH THE VIEWS OF THE SIDES CONVERGE, I WOULD LIKE TO OFFER SOME ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THIS CONNECTION.

THE WORDING OF THE SOVIET VERSION OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 1, IS BASED ON THE APPROACH WORKED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH CONCLUSION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OF MAY 26, 1972. THE SIDES' EXPERIENCE IN IMPLEMENTING THE INTERIM AGREEMENT DEMONSTRATES THAT, WITH RESPECT TO THE NEW AGREEMENT AS WELL, THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS ENSURES THAT THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AT THE DISPOSAL

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OF THE SIDES WILL CARRY OUT THEIR FUNCTIONS AS ENVISAGED IN THE FORMULATIONS OF THE AGREED PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVI.

IN WORKING OUT THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 1, AND THE OTHER RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING, RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974 THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED

OUT, THE MISSILE LAUNCHERS TO BE LIMITED WOULD BE
PRECISELY LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

UNDER OUR APPROACH, IF LAUNCHERS ARE DEVELOPED
AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS THEY ARE INCLUDED IN
THE APPROPRIATE AGGREGATE NUMBER BEING ESTABLISHED.
IF, HOWEVER, MISSILE LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT ICBM
LAUNCHERS ARE DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED, THEN, UNDER THE
AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, THEY ARE NOTED LIMITED.

FOR SUCH LAUNCHERS TO BECOME ICBM LAUNCHERS,
APPROPRIATE CONVERSION WOULD BE REQUIRED. AND THE
SOVIET PROPOSAL DOES INDEED PROVIDE FOR A BAN ON SUCH
CONVERSION TO BE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE IV. I WOULD LIKE
TO EMPHASIZE THAT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS FULLY ENSURE
EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH THAT OBLIGA-
TION.

WHEN WE SPEAK OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AS BEING LAUNCHERS
SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING LAND-
BASED ICBMS, THIS MEANS THAT THE SIDES CAN HAVE ONLY
SUCH ICBM LAUNCHERS AS WERE SPECIALLY DEVELOPED, AND
CONSEQUENTLY TESTED, AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING
SPECIFICALLY ICBMS. THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH THE
MEANING OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE IV--
REGARDING THE OBLIGATION NOT TO CONVERT MISSILE
LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT ICBM LAUNCHERS INTO LAUNCHERS
FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS. IN OTHER WORDS, IN ACCORDANCE
WITH THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES UNDER THE NEW AGREE-
MENT, THERE COULD BE NO LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS
WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND
DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS. AND IN THAT CASE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS HAVE ALL THE NECESSARY
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CAPABILITIES OF PROVIDING THE SIDES WITH ASSURANCE OF
COMPLIANCE WITH THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED.

II

THUS, A DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS,
WHICH WOULD BE BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT, ICBM LAUNCHERS
WOULD BE MISSILE LAUNCHERS SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND
DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING LAND-BASED ICBMS, AS WELL AS
THE OBLIGATION TO BE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE IV NOT TO
CONVERT MISSILE LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT ICBM LAUNCHERS
INTO LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS, BEING FULLY BASED
ON THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE BY

NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS WITH THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED, ENSURE THAT THE SIDES HAVE AN IDENTICAL AND PRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF WHICH LAUNCHERS WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG THOSE BEING LIMITED BY THE 2400 OVERALL MAXIMUM LEVEL.

III

I THINK, MR. AMBASSADOR, THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH BY THE USSR DELEGATION TODAY, EXPLAINING THE SOVIET SIDE'S APPROACH TO WORKING OUT THE ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION AND THE RELATED PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, ALSO ANSWER THE PERTINENT QUESTIONS RAISED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS.
JOHNSON

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